

progress of industry, commerce and economic interests in general.

When Germany in these forty-three years tried her best to maintain peace in Europe, she did not do so for the purpose of gaining the approval of the other nations, but rather acted in her own interest. Within her boundaries there are already living people of French, Polish and Danish extraction, and it is not such an easy task to assimilate these heterogeneous elements that German statesmen should wish to increase the foreign element by adding new territories to the Empire. On the other hand, every year of peace has strengthened the German nation. Her population surpassed in number that of France so rapidly that the latter's wish for revenge on account of her defeat in 1870-1 was about to lose the chance of realization by mere lapse of time.

These circumstances make it clear that there could not be any reason for the Germans to risk their national existence by a new war. That the French nation too did not wish the war became evident when, some weeks ago, the danger of an international conflict grew apparent.

IN THE *White Papers* of both England and Germany it is stated that these two countries tried their best to pass through the last crisis without armed conflict. When, nevertheless, the war came, it was caused entirely by the policy of Russia.

Since 1909 Serbia knew that whatever she might choose to do her big Russian friend would never allow Austria to enter upon a war with the Serbians. Feeling shielded by powerful Russia, Serbia, therefore, started an unscrupulous agitation against Austria. Repeatedly within the last years Serbia brought Europe near the brink of war. The murder of the successor to the Austrian throne was but a single act caused by this agitation against the very existence of Austria.

There were only two possibilities left for the latter, viz.: either to suffer the unity of her country to be undermined by Serbia or to put an end to this dangerous agitation. Before deciding for the latter Austria formally declared to Russia that she had no intention of acquiring Serbian territory but only wished to establish permanent peace at her borders; the move against Serbia, therefore, would be an entirely defensive measure.

The Russian Government, nevertheless, threatened not to remain neutral in a Serbian-Austrian conflict. The reason for this attitude is to be found in Russia's Pan-Slavic ambition. Russia immediately started to mobilize her army near the Austrian border endangering by this measure the peace of all Europe. Germany and Great Britain together with other nations tried everything in their power to preserve peace, but their steps were made futile by Russia's mobilization at the German border quickly following that at the Austrian frontier. Germany learned of these movements at a moment when she had succeeded in re-establishing direct communication between the Governments of Russia and Austria. Although the Russian mobilization was an imminent danger to Germany the German Imperial Government took a last step to avoid war by presenting an ultimatum to Russia. This not being accepted and Russian soldiers entering German soil even before the time of the ultimatum had expired Germany could not but consider herself in a state of war with Russia.

Thus it is clearly shown that the European conflagration is the direct outcome of Russia's policy and that it has by no means been caused by Germany.

Under present conditions peace can only be restored by removing the Pan-Slavian agitation. The question is whether or not Russian autocracy will triumph over western culture. It must be left with the judgment of the American people which outcome they would prefer.

AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMBASSY

Manchester, Mass., Sept. 9, 1914.

Editor National Sunday Magazine:

Russian history is identical with her expansion to the Sea; first to the Baltic in the north, then to the Black Sea to the south, last to the Pacific to the east. The still prevailing tendency to extend her way to the south found its picturesque expression in the legendary will of Peter the Great, and the dream of Empress Catherine to install on the throne of Constantinople her second grandson whom she christened Constantin.

It is certainly a legitimate Russian

interest to secure the free access to and exit from the Black Sea as an outlet for her principal commodity, wheat. Hand in hand with this commercial consideration of first importance works a sentimental motif, Pan-Slavism, which yields a wonderful sway over the imaginative Russian. Pan-Slavism is a feeling not easily defined; its source is partly national, partly mystical. Religion and racial pride combine to make most Russians firm believers in their destiny to unite all orthodox Slavs under the aegis of the Czar. The Roman-Catholic Poles, the deadly enemies and victims of autocratic Russia, were excluded from this ideal unity, and it is only recently under the pressure of war that Czar Nicholas promised them autonomy and the constitutional rights suppressed by his predecessors. Another characteristic of Pan-Slavism is its contempt for western modern civilization with its individualism and personal liberty. It stands up for rural communism and is based on the conviction of the superiority of the orthodox religion, this fountain of superstition and ignorance and firm stronghold of despotism. It also despises "the decaying German race." The Russians have a feeling of spiteful hatred for the Germans, who for generations tried to teach them discipline and method. Pan-Slavism, whereas it is satisfied with the meager concession of desultory civic rights within the boundaries of the northern Empire, works abroad as a revolutionary power. Under its inspiration the Balkan Confederation was formed against Turkey in 1912 which led to the end of Turkish rule in Macedonia.

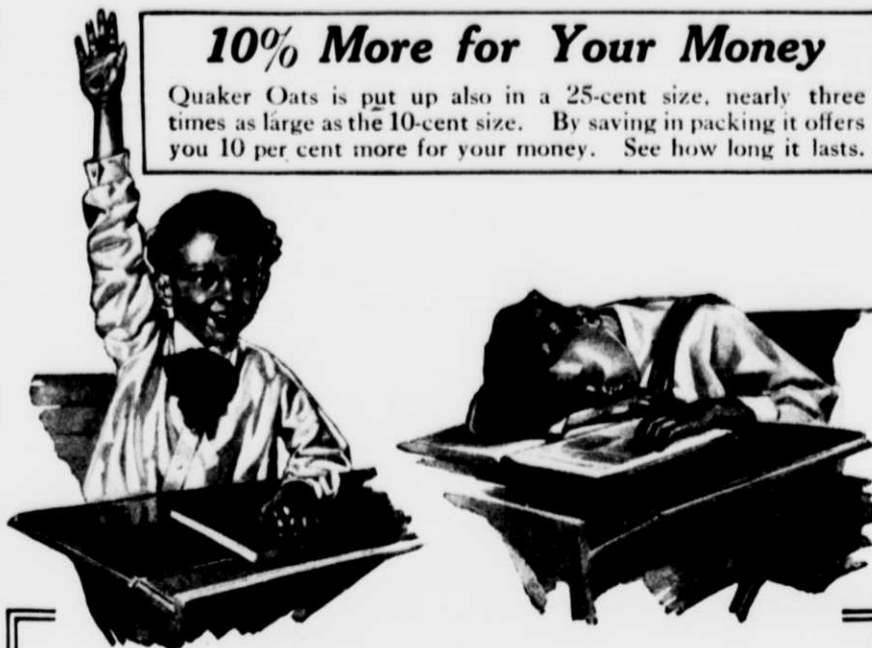
The Russian advanced posts on the Balkan Peninsula are Serbia and Montenegro. And Serbia would have never dared trespass on the patience and forbearance of Austria-Hungary, were she not sure of the support of Russia. To complicate matters the policy of Russian expansion does not stop at Constantinople. Russia wants not only the opening of the Bosphorus but also the breaking up and dividing of Asiatic Turkey. But here she finds Germany in her way, who wishes to conserve Turkish rule in Asia in order to build railways, execute works of irrigation, and settle German emigrants on the reclaimed lands. Turkey's strongest friend has been Germany. This explains the statement of a Russian historical writer: The way to Constantinople goes not only through Vienna but also through Berlin.

AS LONG as Russia stood alone, her rivalry in the Near-East with Austria-Hungary backed up by Germany was not to be feared. But the inability of the high-spirited French nation to reconcile herself with the loss of Alsacia, led up to the most unnatural alliance of the radical Republic with the Eastern Theocracy. The French billions went to strengthen the Russian Empire, its armies and finances and to develop its railroads.

In the mind of Russian statesmen the alliance with France never was meant to help her to realize her wild dreams of revenge; they wished to make use of French capital, and to enhance their military power in order to impose by mere pressure upon Germany and Austria their Pan-Slavistic policy. Unfortunately English jealousy of Germany's gigantic trade expansion induced Edward VII to draw closer to Russia and to form the so-called Triple Entente with France with a view of isolating Germany. From this moment the balance of power in Europe was disturbed, and the feeling of superior strength of the Russian group formed a dangerous incentive to make use of it against the weaker group. This feeling was the immediate reason of the extraordinary efforts of France with a population of 39,500,000, to raise an army as great or even greater than that of Germany with 67,500,000. Germany exposed to two attacks had to follow suit, and by levying a war contribution of over a billion of marks to increase her peace establishment by over 100,000 men. Russia immediately answered by obtaining from the Duma an appropriation for the increase of the annual contingent of recruits by 125,000 during three years, which means a total increase of 375,000 men. The atmosphere was charged with electricity. It was clear to everybody in Germany that Russia and France were enhancing the efficiency of their armies at a pace and at such cost, that the final clash was fast drawing nearer. Emperor William, when he heard, while still negotiating with Czar Nicholas with regard to the latter's general mobilization order, had to strike fast and hard by at once declaring war. Nobody who followed closely the events can doubt that it was Czar Nicholas who forced the issue on Emperor William, convinced

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